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Message Text

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53
ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 IO-13 NEAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

PM-07 NSC-10 SS-15 RSC-01 L-03 PRS-01 OMB-01 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSR-01 /075 W
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O 201215Z AUG 73
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4771

C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 6176

FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, AF, PK, IR

SUBJ: AFGHAN RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

REF: STATE 164400

1. I HAD INTENDED RAISE ALL QUESTIONS CONTAINED REFTEL WITH PRESIDENT DURING FAREWELL AUDIENCE BUT ON A PURELY PERSONAL BASIS. INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED REFTEL RAISED PRESENTATION TO OFFICIAL LEVEL AND IMPLICATIONS PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 5, HOWEVER SOFTLY STATED, ESTABLISHED TIE BETWEEN OUR ECONOMIC AND POLTICAL OBJECTIVES WHICH HOWEVER ACCURATE, IS SOMETHING TO WHICH AFGHANS IN GENERAL AND DAUD IN PARTICULAR ARE KNOWN TO REACT UNFAVORABLY. THIS DESPITE FACT THAT THEY THEMSELVES EMPHASIZE OR IMPLY THAT TIE IN THEIR PRESENTATION OF NEED FOR US ASSISTANCE.

2. I THEREFORE DECIDED TO TRY THE PACKAGE FIRST ON DAUD'S BROTHER NAIM WHO, ALTHOUGH IN OBVIOUS OVERALL CHARGE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MEETING WAS AGAIN AT FONMIN TO EMPHASIZE POINT), OCCUPIES NO OFFICIAL POSITION AND OUR CONVERSATION WAS OFFICIALLY LABELED AS "PRIVATE".

3. NAIM SEEMED AGAIN IN EXCELLENT FORM, LIKE ON FIRST POST-COUP
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MEETING (KABUL 5325), AND NOT LIKE SECOND (KABUL 6019). I EXPLAINED

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THAT I HAD RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS TO SEEK EARLY MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT BUT THAT I THOUGHT BEST TO GO OVER GROUND INFORMALLY
WITH NAIM. I THEN FOLLOWED SUBSTANCE REFTEL WITH EXCEPTION PARA 2.

4. ON PUSHTUNISTAN, NAIM SAID THT GOA SOUGHT PEACEFUL SOLUTION.
PAKISTAN WELL AWRARE OF AFGHANISTAN'S POSITION BUT HAS NOT TAKEN
ACTION GOA REQUESTED. WHAT AFGHANISTAN WANTS IS FOR PAKISTAN
APPLY THE CONSITUTION WHICH PROVIDES FOR MAJORITY GOVERNMENT
IN NWFP AND BALUCHISTAN. BHUTTO VIOLATED THE CONSTITUTION BY
ARRESTING NAP LEADERS. THIS OPENS PERSPECTIVES OF REPETITION
OF TREATMENT OF MUJIBUR RAHMAN IN BANGLA DESH IN WHICH BHUTTO
HAD IMPORTANT HAND. IF PAKISTAN INTERNAL WEAKNESS LEAD TO SUCH
ACTION IT NS NOT AFGHANISTAN'S FAULT. HOWEVER, IF OPEN FORCE
BREAKS OUT IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR AFGHANISTAN TO REMAIN
APART. ONLY WAY OUT IS FOR PAKISTAN APPLY THE CONSTITUTION.

5. I REMARKED THAT AFGHANISTAN'S VIEWPOINT WELL KNOWN BUT THAT
BIZENJO'S SPEECH PRETTY INFLAMATORY AND POSSIBLY SECESSIONIST.
NAIM REPLIED THAT BIZENJO AND OTHER LEADERS NOT CRIMINALS BUT
DRIVEN BY BHUTTO INTO TOUGH POSITION. NAIM HOPED FOR PAK
WISDOM NOT TO LET SITUATION GET OUT OF HAND.

6. I ASKED (FULLY KNOWING NO CLEAR ANSWERS WOULD BE GIVEN) JUST
WHAT GOA MIGHT DO IF SITUATION "GOT OUT OF HAND". NAIM REPLIED
NOBODY COULD SAY EXCEPT THAT AFGHANISTAN COULD NOT STAY OUT IF
FORCE COMMITTED. EVERYBODY MIGHT LOSE CONTROL. I ASKED WHAT
"SELF-DETERMINATION" MEANT AS USED BY PRESIDENT. SELF-DETERMINATION
WITHIN PAKISTAN OR SELF-DETERMINATION WITH OPTION OF
SECESSION? NAIM REPLIED THIS FOR GOP THEMSELVES TO DETERMINE.
BHUTTO SHOULD APPLY HIS CONSTITUTION. IF PEOPLE DRIVEN TO
CONVICTION THEY CANNOT REMAIN INSIIDE PAKISTAN, ANYTHING POSSIBLE.
PASHTUNISTAN WAS AN ISSUE . WE (US) HAD TO RECOGNIZE IT. (FYI: THIS
LANGUAGE SIMILAR TO THAT OF KING AND FORMER PM'S AT COMPARABLE
OCCASIONS. END FYI).

7. ON IRAN-HELMAND RIVER TREATY, GOA RECOGNIZES USG INTEREST EXPRESSED

IN ORGANIZING COMMISSION, ETC., AND IS GRATEFUL. AFGHANISTAN HAD ALWAYS

ACCEPTED THE AWARD. IRAN DID NOT. THIS HAD BEEN SO FOR 20 YEARS.
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UNFORTUNATELY LAST (SHAFIQ) GOVERNMENT PUSHED ISSUED IN MANNER CREATING

SO MANY PROBLEMS THAT NOW IT IS "QUITE A JOB FOR US". ETEMADI,
AS PM, STARTED DISCUSSIONS OF SELLING EXCESS WATER TO IRAN. THIS
WOULD CREATE RESIDUAL RIGHTS FOR IRAN ESPECIALLY IF RANIANS WERE
TO BUILD INSTALLATIONS, FARMS, ETC., RELYING ON EXCESS WATER. I
REPLIED THAT FLOOD WATERS NOW FLOWING TO IRAN ANYWAY WITHOUT
BENEFIT TO AFGHANISTAN, WHY NOT GET PAID FOR WHAT ACTUALLY

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HAPPENING? NOTHING COULD PREVENT IRANIANS FROM BUILDING
FARMS, ETC., ON BASIS FLOOD WATERS NOW. NAIM REPLIED DIFFERENCE
THAT SALES CONTRACT WOULD GIVE IMPLICIT RIGHTS WHILE ACTUAL FLOW
WOULD NOT. THEREFORE AFGHANISTAN CANNOT SELL WATER TO IRAN.
EVEN CORRUPT PARLIAMENTARIANS OVERTHREW ETEMADI ON THAT ISSUE.
WATER SALES PROBLEM HAS HAMPERED GOA IN DEALING WITH ISSUE
BECAUSE OF STRONG FEELINGS AROUSED. HOWEVER, HE STILL FEELS
MAIN WATER TREATY OK. ADDITIONAL 4 CU SECS GRANTED BY FORMER KING
REGRETTABLE BUT WAS DONE NOW. ANYWAY RELATIONS WITH IRAN WERE
GOOD AND HE IS CONFIDENT THIS COULD BE WORKED OUT. BUT MUST GIVE
PRESIDENT TIME TO STUDY -- AT LEAST ONE MONTH. MANY MISCONCEPTIONS
ON TREATY EXIST IN PUBLIC BECAUSE OF SHAFIQ'S MISHANDLING. NAIM
REPEATED NIS PERSONAL CONVICTION NO REAL PROBLEM. RELATIONS
WITH IRAN GOOD AND HOPE FOR IRAN'S INFLUENCE ON PAKISTAN. NO
COMPARISON BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH IRAN AND WITH
PAKISTAN.

8. IN FURTHER DISCUSSION IT BECAME CLEAR THAT MEANING OF
PARALRAPHS 4 AND 5 REFTEL NO REPEAT NOT LOST ON NAIM. HE GAVE ME
TO UNDERSTAND PRIVATELY THAT PRESIDENT WOULD NOT REACT WELL TO
OFFICIAL RAISING OF POSSIBLE TIE BETWEEN US ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES
AND AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN RELATIONS IN PARTICULAR. DAUD KNOWN
TO BE PARTICULARLY SENSTIVE ON ISSUE AS SEVERAL FORMER US
AMBASSADORS HAVE DISCOVERED.

9. I THEREFORE BELIEVE SEEKING FORMAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT
AND CONVEYING FORMAL INSTURCTIONS WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. THE
POINT HAS BEEN FULLY MADE AND WILL BE REPEATED TO DAUD. ITS
IMPLICATIONS WILL, I THINK, BE CLEAR. IF AFGHANISTAN CONTINUES
HARD LINE THERE WILL BE PLENTY OF TIME TO RAISE ISSUE TO OFFICIAL
LEVEL. AT THIS TIME, HOWEVER, I REQUEST THAT INSTRUCTIONS REFTEL
BE AMENDED AND THAT I NOT REPT NOT SEEK FORMAL APPOINTMENT
AT THIS TIME. I STILL INTEND RAISE ISSUE ON PERSONAL PLANE
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IN FAREWELL AUDIENCE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973KABUL06176
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS NEUMANN
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: KABUL
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730828/aaaaauhm.tel
Line Count: 156
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: STATE 164400
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 DEC 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12-Dec-2001 by martinml>; APPROVED <28-Dec-2001 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

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Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AFGHAN RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS
TAGS: PFOR, AF, PK, IR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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